1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Washo did not always wear moccasins. Sometimes they walked in the snow in their bare feet, as Dave declared he himself has traveled for miles.

Snowshoes (cume'li) are sketched by Dave as approximately circular in frame. They were made of piñon wood, eighteen inches in diameter, and had a buckskin netting, the foot being lashed to the middle. The walker supported himself with a seven-foot pole. Dave used snowshoes along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

TRANSPORTATION

Fishermen would make a cedar-bark raft 12 to 15 feet long by 10 feet wide. Dave remembered such a one from his boyhood and said it accommodated ten to fifteen people and, for fishing was propelled by a long pole along the shore. Jack recalled a rectangular raft (t'a"nup) of willows and tule (ta'o'ya) for crossing the Walker River. It held four to six persons and served to ferry women across with their children, blankets, and basketry. Dave, too, mentioned a willow raft for taking four or five people with their property across high creeks: one good swimmer would take a rope in his mouth and pull the raft to the other bank.

WAR

Sometimes there was friendly competition with aliens. At a joint meeting a Washo once offered to kill a grizzly, to put the Southern Digger Indians (ta'ne.u) to shame. Armed with a short bow and some arrows, he went to the den and killed the beast with four shots. The Washo said to the Diggers present, "I'm a man; you're no fighters, that is why you can't kill a bear. I've killed him." The Diggers were all ashamed and hung their heads.

At other times there was warfare. A Washo had killed a Digger, whose people tried to get even. They were watching all the time. A Washo and a boy about twelve years old were on horseback, looking for fish. Several Diggers surrounded them and killed the man, who had unsaddled, while the lad escaped on horseback.

At one time the Digger Indians had medicine to make people fall asleep. The Washo bought it, then put it out (distributed it among members of the tribe), and sent two young boys to the hills as scouts to find out how many hostile camps there were. In the middle there was a big house, the sweat house, and four bear hides and also some buckskins were hanging down. The war chief said, "We'll surely defeat them; this stuff makes them sleep; we'll all go there and kill their best man first." When the Washo approached, all the enemies slept and their nice big dogs, instead of barking, were also asleep. When the Washo jumped on them, the enemy woke up, but it was too late. The women, too, were knocked over the head with a club, the Washo killing nearly all the camp. After this event the enemy tried to get even. The Washo took all the skins away from the Diggers. They had a war dance (ma'haulos) in celebration. Women* and men danced over the capture of the best fighter's scalp without the loss of one Washo. The captain announced, "The day after tomor-

* On one occasion Dave denied the participation of women in the scalp dance.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

721 row all of you shall go and catch fish, then make nut soup. We men are going to hunt deer." They had tried to capture a young Digger squaw, but she refused to come, so they knocked her over the head and killed her. Another woman swam across the creek and climbed up a hill unclad; the Washo laughed at sight of her nakedness. Another band of Diggers was sighted, so the Washo came home with the body, dancing at the site of Reno.

● 727 In the celebration the warriors hung their booty all over themselves in the dance and carried bows and arrows. The scalp was tied to the top of a peeled eight-foot willow pole, which everyone, including women but not young girls, seized and shook. The people hallooed and danced, finally removing the hair and burning it. After the dance they would disperse and go home. "The Washo used to be the best marksmen and the best fighters" (Dave).

[P.353, B]

724
622
[203]
[211]

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ha'ld'go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

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After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

535
[40]
[825]
[834]
[262]
[263]
[843]

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

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When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 239-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

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[783]
726
[234]

SUMMARY

171

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	Kl	Kd	Ka	To	Tr	Pa	Mo	At	Im	Tg	Md	Kl	Al
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chiefs (wihinavi or wiinavi)														
2149. Band chief (tuvizi-wiinavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2150. Patrilineal succession	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2152. Chief's assistant	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2153. Chief's announcer (nawoinaamo)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2155. Special chief: for dance (nagwa wiinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2156. For rabbit drive (kwawiinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2157. For antelope drive (tuwawiinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saipawiinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2159. For fishing	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2160. For hunting generally	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2161. For pine-nut trip	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2162. Village chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
PROPERTY														
2165. Band owned hunting territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2167. Band owned fishing stream	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2169. Family owned seed plots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2170. Family owned fishing place	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173a. Cold springs public	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173b. Hot springs public	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2174a. Protection only	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2176. War ritual	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2177. Captives	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
BIRTH CUSTOMS														
2178. Baleskin, stuffed, for chaps (sex, gambling)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179. Special house for childbirth	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179a. Dwelling-like	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2180. Domed willow house	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2180a. Regular house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2181a. 30 ("month")	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2182. Ground warmed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 407]